631 /211/ Originally from Es Souq in the Ădrar des Ifôras, they are mixed with the Ahl Azzi from In-Salah.

Without being Imrad of the Tăitok, properly speaking, they may be considered satellites of this tobol.

Tobol of the Tégéhé-Mellet

173 631 The Tégéhé-Mellet make up the third and least important of the three Ahaggar tobol.

According to oral tradition, they are the descendants of Ti-n-Hînân through her daughter Tahenkat. More recently they are said to be descended from the Tégéhé-n-ou-Sidi. But according to another tradition they are of Chaamba origin, from the Oulad Messaoud tribe. More exactly, we are led to believe that some Oulad Messaoud men came to settle among them and founded families; for some, this would make their pure Imochar origin questionable. On the other hand, they married Kel-I-n-Tounîn women, while Tégéhé Mellet women married Issekkemâren.

They obtained their independence at the same time as the Tăitok while Sidi Mohamed was amĕnokal, and were assigned a certain number of vassal tribes. Since then, however, they have played only a very unobtrusive part in the history of the Ahaggar, and the Tégéhé Mellet are on the way to disappearing.

631 [578] According to Duveyrier, they had the reputation of bringing a conciliatory spirit into the often strained relations between the Ihăggaren and the Ăjjer Tuareg. The geographical position that they occupied between the two opposing groups quite naturally drafted them for the role.

619 648 They were formerly a free tobol, and only with the French occupation were they placed under the guardianship of Moussa ag Ămastân.

Ser'ir ag Bedda, their amrar, protested for a long time and never stopped claiming his independence. In connection with this state of mind, many Tégéhé Mellet rebelled and left with the

619 Kel-I-n-Tounîn Imrad rather than accept the supremacy of Moussa
648 ag Amastân and the Kel Rela. For a long time they kept up the agitation, encouraged by the former Aménokal Attici ag Amellal, and they were one of the causes of our difficulties with the Ajjer.

619 It is now a small tribe of about 15 tents nomadizing near
[162] Amegid, the Ounane, the Eguéré, and /212/ Tiramar. Its strength comes especially from its vassals, who could not be more turbulent.
[669] They probably participated in the massacre of the Flatters mission, and Attici and Anaba ag Amellal, the leaders of the drama, belonged to that fraction.

The Tégéhé-Mellet have no Imrad properly speaking, but several Issekkemâren fractions are enfeoffed to them.

The Kel Terourirt. -- The Kel Terourirt are Issekkemâren and nomadize northeast of the Ahaggar near Tiramar, Tahihaout,
[162] Ounane, the Eguéré, and the Garet ed Djenoun. They number 25 tents at the moment:

[669] During the 1916 events, they followed the Kel Ouhet and the Kel I-n-Tounîn in rebelling.

[651] They pay the amrar of the Tégéhé Mellet a tioussé which annually adds up to four bags of dates and four goats.

The Kel Ouhet. -- Like the Kel Térourirt, the Kel Ouhet are Issekkemâren. They are subdivided into several small fractions: the
[162] Kel Raris, the Dag-Khamaya, and the Dag Iknân. In all there are about 40 tents (51 persons in the 1938 census, 23 of them men).

They camp in the northern part of the Tafedest massif and go as far as Amegid and into the Igharghar Valley.

[233] [439] They own a number of camels and frequently visit the markets of the Tidikelt and Ghat.

Some of them have left the Ahaggar and now live in the Ajjer.

The Kel Torha. -- The Kel Torha, or Dag Houa, are Aït Loaien and their small fraction is in the process of disappearing. Although
[651] they live with the Aït Loaien who belong to the Kel Rela tobol, they pay the annual tioussé of a mézoued of dates to the Tégéhé-Mellet.

country just to the West of Agadès (Lhote, 1955, p. 217). These movements were but the latest major episodes in a general southwestward drift of which we have evidence going back at least as far as the 8th century (Rodd, 1926, p. 376) when the weight of the great Arab invasions first began to be felt.

The military administrative unit known as the *Annexe du Hoggar* covers roughly the territory that lies between Amguid and In Guezzam, and Djanet and Ouallen, and corresponds fairly closely to the present normal range of the Ahaggar Tuareg. This area is about the size of New York State, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland put together (146,300 square miles, with nearly 31,000,000 inhabitants in 1950), and supports a total native population of probably about 12,000, roughly the same as that of Athol or Swampscott, Massachusetts, or Gainesville, Georgia. Cambridge, Massachusetts, has more than ten times as many permanent residents. Twice as many people work in the Pentagon Building alone as live in the entire Ahaggar.

Accurate population figures for nomadic peoples are always very hard to obtain, and in the Ahaggar it is practically impossible to arrive at anything better than very rough approximations. We are probably safe in assuming, however, that there are about 4,400 Tuareg and 4,000 Negro slaves in the area, plus some 3,500 sedentary Haratin, a few small families of smiths, and a very small handful of Arab shopkeepers from the Northwest who have settled in the largest sedentary centers.

The Tuareg speak Tamaheq, which is a form of Senhadjan Berber.

Social Organization. The Tuareg are divided into confederations as we have seen, and these are divided into tribes which are subdivided into clans and the latter into fractions. The nomadic population is divided socially into

[534] *A hemispherical drum made of half a big gourd with a skin stretched over the opening.

† Tuareg tribal and personal names are spelled in as many different ways as are the geographical names of the Sahara. The most common variations are found in the alternative use of *dj* and *g* (or *gu*), *sh* (or *ch*) and *h*, and *gh* (or *r'*) and *r*, all of which sometimes reflect local differences in pronunciation and sometimes the personal preferences of various transliterators.

*A chief may be succeeded by his younger brother, as the Amenokal Younès was succeeded by Guémama (commonly written *ag Mama*) in 1820 or

565 three main classes, the Tuareg nobles (fig. 46) and vassals (fig. 47) and the Negro slaves.

565 Rank seems to be essentially a quality of the
614 clan rather than of the individual, for the Tuareg commonly speak of "noble clans" and "vassal clans," and, when one is in doubt about
[554] a person's social status, one does not ask what his rank is but what clan he belongs to. The "tobol," [6] the symbol of precedence, is clan property and belongs to no particular family, although it is kept by the chief of the premier clan of a tribe as the symbol of his authority.

619 The Ahaggar confederation comprises three
614 tribes, the Kel Rela, the Tégéhé Mellet and the Taïtoq, each headed by a noble clan which gives its name to the tribe as a whole [7] (figs. 25, 26, *b* and 27). Noble clans by definition outrank vassal clans, so that the chief of a noble Ahaggar clan is usually chief of his tribe as well. The noble clans and their dependent vassal clans with them are arranged in an order of precedence, and so the chief of the premier
[643] clan (the *Kel Rela*) is also chief of the Kel Rela tribe and paramount chief (*Amenokal*) of the Ahaggar confederation.

614 It is men who govern at all levels of Ahaggar
622 society. Among the Tuareg a tribal chief is chosen from the premier clan of the tribe by
562 a clan council made up of the male heads of households, but he must be confirmed in office by a council of male representatives of all the component clans of his tribe because his tenure depends materially on the willingness of these clans to pay him tribute. For the same reason, the final confirmation of an amenokal rests with a council made up of male representatives of all the clans in the whole confederation. Tribal chiefs also act as judges, and an amenokal is the chief justice of his confederation.

622 Chieftainship is hereditary in the female line,[8] but within fairly broad and seemingly rather indefinite limits of degree of relation-

thereabouts, but this succession may not have been thought of as brother-to-brother inheritance after all. It seems perhaps more likely that the successor in such a case is looked on as an heir of the former chief's mother rather than of the former chief himself. Ancient Egyptian records, cited by Bates (1914, p. 112), tell of at least one Libyan chief who was succeeded by his younger brother in preference to his son. It would be a waste of time for us to try to explain the few early cases of father-to-son inheritance that have been reported because the circumstances surrounding them are not at all clear.

/47 cont./

571 463 C. Economic Organization

Tuareg	:	Nomadic herdsmen
Arabs	:	Nomadic herdsmen and traders
Inaden	:	Artisans
Harratin	:	Cultivators, craftsmen, manual laborers
Iklan	:	Domestics of the Tuareg
Mozabites	:	Sedentary traders
Chorfa	:	Receive alms in exchange for their presence
Zaoui	:	id.

571 ●619 643 At the beginning of the French occupation, the Tuareg people were in a stage of social evolution similar in many ways to our Middle Ages. The same system is still in force today, although cracks in it may be seen, caused by the French and Moslem presence. To speak only of the Kel Ahaggar, who are the only ones who concern us in this study, we see a confederation of tribes commanded by the "amenokal," who is elected for life. His title confers on him the ownership of the soil, amenokal meaning "owner of the land." He disposes of the territories of nomadization /terres de parcours/ and of the arable land as he wishes. In practice, this power is exercised according to custom and in a paternalistic fashion.

571 564 Among the tribes, a very rigid caste system exists. First, there are the noble tribes which formerly supplied the warriors; they undertook the protection of the confederation. They were rich with loot taken from /48/ neighboring confederations and from outside caravans, and from protection money paid by caravaneers who passed through Kel Ahaggar territory. Then, there are the imrad tribes -- we may call them vassals. More numerous and made up of camel herders and caravan guides, they could be called on to furnish reinforcements when an expedition ran into trouble or was larger than usual.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

565 The true Tuareg in most groups fall into several classes as follows:—

619 *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*), or *Imajeṛen* (sing. *Amajeṛ*). These two words designate the supreme Tuareg class which is generally referred to in literature as "nobility". The term *Ihaggaren* is used only among the Northern Tuareg, while *Imajeṛen* is employed in Ayr and also among Sudanese Tuareg. The two terms are synonymous, and so-called noble Tuareg are found in most Tuareg groups. However, the *Kel Geres* employ the term *Imajeṛen* for all true Tuareg. Among the *Kel Aḍraṛ* certain tribes claim to be noble, but though these tribes have very much the same position as noble tribes in Ahaggar and in Ayr, they are not recognized as true noble Tuareg by people of other groups.

Ineslemen (sing. *Aneslem*). This class is that of *Mrabetin* or marabuts, the religious class established after the introduction of Islam. In most Tuareg groups there are whole tribes of *Ineslemen* under the leadership of their own chiefs, but in Ahaggar there are only a few scattered families. The political position of the *Ineslemen* varies greatly from one group to another. Certain tribes in Ayr which are *Ineslemen* by origin have the same status as the true vassals to be mentioned below, while other *Ineslemen* tribes like the *Ifoṛas* of the *Kel Ajjer* have much the same status as noble Tuareg with the exception that they have no vassals. The *Ineslemen* perform religious duties connected with certain [793] rites of passage. Any Tuareg can acquire the position of *Aneslem* after training in reading the Ḳoran and education in the divine laws under the tutorship of another *Aneslem* or marabut.

Echchikhen (sing. *Echchikh*). This word also refers to people of religious status, and is used almost synonymously with *Ineslemen*. Certain tribes of Ayr (Damergu) have a kind of noble status and possess vassals. The word does not have the meaning of *Echcherifen* (sing. *Echcherif*), which refers to descendants of the Prophet. Individual Tuareg families – particularly in noble tribes – often claim relationship with the Prophet.

Iseḳḳemaren (sing. *Aseḳḳemar*). A class which is found only in the two northern groups – particularly among the *Kel Ahaggar*. The *Iseḳḳemaren* Tuareg descend from Arabs, or from unions between Arab men and Tuareg women. They are vassals who have a somewhat different status from that of true vassals, who are mentioned below.

Iṛeǧenaten (sing. *Aṛeǧenat*). This name is not always applied to people of a particular class. It is used as a proper name for one Ahaggar tribe which has its origin from mixed marriages between (noble) Tuareg women and Arabs. In most groups the term *Iṛeǧenaten* (*Iṛegenaten*) is applied to Tuareg descending from unions between noble Tuareg men and vassal women.

212 Fig. 2. The Tuareg alphabet (*tifinaṛ*). The distinctions between Tuareg alphabets of Ahaggar and Ayr are less essential
104 than appears from this list, for some differences are due to the fact that the Ahaggar Tuareg for certain letters prefer
184 an edged form, the Ayr Tuareg a curved one. But both forms are known to all Tuareg. The Ahaggar Tuareg normally write from the right to the left like the Arabs, while the Ayr Tuareg consider it correct to write the letters in vertical rows from bottom to top. It can be seen from the list that the Ahaggar Tuareg have an alphabet of 23 consonants while the Ayr Tuareg have only 21. At the end of words the Tuareg sometimes indicate vowels with a dot, which may stand for any vowel. This simple vowel letter is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tagerit*, to the Ayr Tuareg as *tesumḳit*. The dialect of the Ayr Tuareg is very little known and most Ayr words mentioned in this study have never been published previously. Even my collection of Ahaggar words seems to contain terms lacking in Foucauld's dictionaries. For certain geographical names the mode of spelling is in accordance with that generally used for geographical maps.

[text continues on p. 12]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

565 619 *Imrad* (sing. *Amerid*). People of this class are sometimes called "serfs" in literature, but the word "vassals" is also used. I prefer to use the latter term, but add that the word *Imrad* is most difficult to translate into an European language. The vassal class is represented in all groups with the exception of the *Kel Geres*. Among the Northern Tuareg and also among the *Iullemmeden* the word *Kel Ulli* (sing. *Agg Ulli*) is used synonymously with *Imrad*. Among south-western Tuareg around Timbuktu the word *Duga* or *Daga* is also used to designate vassals. The *Imrad* class is by far the most numerous in most groups. The relationship between these vassals (*Imrad*) and the noble Tuareg (*Ihaggaren*, *Imajeren*) forms the basis of most political systems which are described later (p. 393 ff.).

101 565 Members of the above-mentioned classes are true Tuareg, though the word *Ineslemen* is also used for marabuts of other peoples and for marabuts of various black-skinned castes found among the Tuareg. Among the Northern Tuareg all people of the above-mentioned classes with the exception of certain *Ineslemen* or marabuts are called *Imuhar* (sing. *Amahar*). The Ayr Tuareg have no such common term to designate the people known to us as *Tuareg*, but occasionally they use generically the word *Imajeren* though strictly speaking this term should be reserved for Tuareg of the supreme noble class.

101 The word *Tuareg* (sing. *Targi*) is never used by the Tuareg themselves, but by Arabs. Duveyrier claims it to be derived from an Arabic word of the root *terek* meaning "to abandon". The meaning of the word accordingly should be "those abandoned (by God)", and should refer to the fact that many Tuareg do not follow Islamic rules very strictly (Duveyrier 1864, p. 317 f.). The same explanation has also been given to me by an Arab of the *Ulad Ba Hammu* tribe of Tidikelt. However, the origin of the word "*Tuareg*" is perhaps a different one: – It may be related to the word *Targa* (Ayr) or *Turga* (Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer), which name is used by the Tuareg to designate the part of the Sahara generally known to us by the Arabic word *Fezzan*. This is very likely, as we know from Arab authors of the Middle Ages that the word *Targa* or *Turga* was then used as a name for a very important Tuareg group living in that area and adjacent regions (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 83 f.; Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 534; Rodd 1926a, p. 273 f.).

142 144 The Tuareg are fair-skinned people who in certain regions and particularly in the south have mixed with Negroes. The Northern Tuareg are predominantly fair-skinned, and many of them are as "white" as Europeans though perhaps a little yellowish or brownish. It is difficult to determine their exact skin colour because they are burned and tanned by the sun and the hot wind characteristic of desert climate. In addition, the Tuareg wear clothes dyed with indigo which comes off on the body, and they rarely wash. When I lived among them my own skin-colour and that of the Tuareg were practically identical. Among the Ayr Tuareg there are also many fair-skinned people, but the Ayr Tuareg are more mixed with Negroes than the Northern Tuareg, and most *Kel Ewey* are predominantly negroid. Very mixed also are the *Kel Geres* and the same seems to hold for other Tuareg groups of the south. A few blond individuals have been recorded from the *Kel Ajjer* living around the oases of Rat and Radames, and they may be the offspring of unions between Tuareg women and caravan traders of the north (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 162 f.). The blond individuals met in Southern Ayr are the offspring of the fairly numerous marriages between Frenchmen and Tuareg women, but it is claimed that a few years ago a very blond girl was born to parents of families which had never contracted marriages

[291 516] [648]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

considers the marriage suitable, and if the *Amenukal* agrees the father will have to yield to his son. If a man descending from parents of different tribes continues to live together with people of his father's tribe after his father's death, the chief of his mother's tribe may complain to the *Amenukal*, who will then order the man to take up residence with his maternal kinsmen. Nowadays the *Amenukal* can decide on the most personal problems of his subjects, and he is constantly visited by many Tuareg desirous of obtaining his advice. To-day when the two other drum-groups in Ahaggar have so to speak ceased to exist, the *Amenukal* has become the true supreme chief of all Ahaggar Tuareg in all possible matters, while in the past he had very little official authority over the two other drum-groups, who fought him, and even within his own drum-group it was very difficult for him to keep order. Sections and tribes among his own vassals frequently had severe quarrels with one another, and the Tuareg say that once in the past the two tribes of *Dag Rali* and *Kel Ahnet* quarreled over grazing grounds and fought each other, though officially their territories belonged to the drum-chiefs of their respective groups. Again, we see that during the revolt against the French in 1916–17, the drum-group of the *Kel Ṛela* did not act as a political unit. For though certain vassals followed the *Amenukal* in his order not to revolt, there were many vassals of his group who disobeyed his order.

The *Amenukal*'s power was not a very definite one. And it is clear that it was most difficult for him to prevent trouble between his subjects when he was not allowed to forbid them to take revenge in case of murder. However, it seems as if he has had important functions as an arbitrator in cases of a very different order, and that he was necessary to maintain the political system built up upon the division of the people into different classes and castes. He was also important in all cases concerning foreign policy, and he might call in for discussions of war and peace not only other noble Tuareg but also the chiefs of vassal tribes. Thus in spite of the fact that the *Amenukal*'s orders were not always obeyed there was a central government, and the *Amenukal* had three or four deputies known by the title of *Khalifa* to act as his representatives. These *Khalifas* were elected by the *Amenukal*. At present he has three *Khalifas* two of whom live with him in his own camp, while one lives in the Tamesna area where many Tuareg of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group now dwell. It is possible that in the past the *Khalifas* were elected from the important noble sections of the *Kel Ṛela* tribe so that the central government of the drum-group corresponded structurally to the government of most vassal tribes; these have a chief (*Amṛar*) of the whole tribe which is subdivided into sections with *Khalifas* who represent their sections towards the chief.

Throughout the 19th century whole groups of Tuareg outside Ahaggar paid an annual tribute known as *tiwsé* to the *Amenukal*, to the drum-chief of the *Taytoḳ*, or to other prominent noble Tuareg of Ahaggar in order to avoid raiding by the Ahaggar Tuareg. The noble Tuareg to whom *tiwsé* was paid by such foreign groups was most frequently the *Amenukal* of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group, and the drum-chief of the *Taytoḳ*, but other influential noble Tuareg of the *Kel Ṛela* and *Taytoḳ* tribes might also receive *tiwsé* payments from foreign groups in order that they might not be raided by people belonging to these drum-groups. Some of these *tiwsé* matters are mentioned by Foucauld (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1347). The annual payments made for protection seem never to have been very large. Thus I was told in Ahaggar that Tuareg of the *Kel Aḍṛar* gave annually a skin tent and a camel to the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar, and the *Kel Ténalé* tribes of Northern Ayr are said to have given him a similar payment for protection.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

619 721 643 him a similar payment for protection. In spite of these annual tributes foreign Tuareg groups were frequently raided by the Ahaggar Tuareg. If foreign groups paying *tiwsé* to the *Amenukal* were raided by people of his drum-group, the *Amenukal* had the right to a tribute named *ennehet* which according to Foucauld corresponded to about one third of the booty taken, and this payment should be made by all raiders, whether nobles or vassals. But raiders who were vassals of the *Amenukal*'s drum-group should also give him half of the booty left when one third had been given. If the foreign group raided complained to the *Amenukal* to whom they paid *tiwsé* for protection, he might return some of the animals taken, but never all (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1347 f.).

634 [831] The drum-group (*ettebel*) was the most important political unit among the Ahaggar Tuareg. The federation (*téğehé*) was for long periods split into quarrelling drum-groups. We have seen that quarrels might occur even within a drum-group which nevertheless remained a stable unit.

634 565 571 514 [602] It seems as if the stability of a drum-group was partly maintained by means of a joking relationship (*tehanḍezzit*) between people of different classes. However, within the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group there were tribes the members of which did not engage much in joking of this kind, and this was and is true notably of the *Dag Ṛali* tribe which is considered one of the oldest vassal tribes in Ahaggar. People of the *Dag Ṛali* to-day have no joking relationships with anyone beyond cross-cousins and brothers and sisters-in-law (cf. p. 454 f., 465 ff.). Most other tribes within the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group joke with the tribes of the *Isekkemaren* class. The word "*Isekkemaren*" means literally "people who lie down upon the elbow supporting their head against the hand." People of this particular class is considered a kind of superior vassals because they are attached to no other noble Tuareg but their drum-chief. But nowadays, as in the past, they are spoken of disparagingly by both noble Tuareg and true vassals, who say that the *Isekkemaren* in the past did not engage in warfare and raiding expeditions, and that these Tuareg are on the whole very weak. Most noble Tuareg and vassals will joke with the *Isekkemaren*, and there is a particular strong joking relationship between the vassal tribe *Aguh-en-tehlé* and the *Isekkemaren* tribes. Such joking relationships are functionally related to joking relationships between relatives and in-laws and a fixed gift-exchange is observed between *Aguh-en-tehlé* Tuareg and *Isekkemaren* Tuareg when they visit each other. When the *Aguh-en-tehlé* Tuareg come to the *Isekkemaren* they must receive dates, while meat must be given to the *Isekkemaren* visiting the *Aguh-en-tehlé*. The *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe has the most intense joking relationship to the noble *Kel Ṛela* Tuareg of all vassals. These vassals and the noble *Kel Ṛela* engage in sham-fights (*tebbillant*) exactly in the same way as cross-cousins. This intense joking relationship between the *Kel Ṛela* and the vassal *Aguh-en-telhé* should probably be explained in the light of the fact that the latter tribe was incorporated into the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group more recently than most other vassals.

[602] [431]

The different Tuareg classes do not generally intermarry. There are very few marriages between *Isekkemaren* and *Kel Ulli* vassals, though love-making between them is common and facilitated by their mutual joking relationship. This is true particularly for certain *Isekkemaren* tribes (*Iheyawen Hoda, Kel Tazulet*) and the *Aguh-en-tehlé tribe*. Wedding feasts in these *Isekkemaren* tribes are most popular with young men of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* who are free to make love to the *Isekkemaren* girls. Between noble Tuareg and vassals of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group there were in the past very few marriages, if any, while this was not so in the *Taytoḳ* drum-group, where marriages were contracted between